

1884 P143-14

SPEECH
ON THE
CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
AND
THE CANADIAN NORTH-WEST,
BY
A. W. ROSS, ESQ., M.P.

Publicity P102-2 pt. 1

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DELIVERED IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA,

ON THE

19th OF FEBRUARY, 1884.

GAZETTE PRINTING CO., MONTREAL.

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MR. SPEAKER.—In rising to address the House on these Resolutions, I do so with much diffidence, inasmuch as I am a young member, and as so many able speakers have preceded me and have exhausted the subject. But when we consider the importance of this question to the Northwest, and that the interests of the Northwest are so nearly identical with those of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, I think it but right that some member from the Northwest should be heard with reference to these Resolutions. Now, Sir, a good deal has been said with reference to the Northwest by some hon. gentlemen who are not fully posted as to the facts. I propose to point out some mistakes that have been made. When this charter was granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the Government had completed a line of railway from Emerson to Selkirk, and east from that to Cross Lake, and from Winnipeg west to Portage la Prairie. The moment they got that charter they commenced the construction of a road from Portage la Prairie westward, with a rapidity that has been a source of pride to the people of the Northwest.

RAPID RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION.

I think the hon. member for South Huron said it was a great disadvantage to the people of the Northwest that this railway was built so rapidly. To a certain extent he is correct. To those people who were in the Northwest previous to the granting of the Canadian Pacific Railway charter, it has been a source of dissatisfaction and complaint; and for this

reason, that previous to the granting of the charter, there were two streams of immigration flowing into that country, taking Winnipeg as a starting point, one to the southwest, towards the Pembina Mountains and the Turtle Mountains, and the other by Portage la Prairie and to Shell River. The people in the southwest expected the road then controlled by Mr., now Senator Schultz, to pass their doors; and the people in the Northwest expected the Canadian Pacific Railway to pass their doors, because the Government in their maps laid down the line of railway they were about to construct as running in that direction, and the people therefore settled there. When the work of construction by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company began, people, instead of striking out in a northwesterly direction, settled along the line of railway. What was the result? The people already settled, instead of finding markets, found no markets; there was a lack not only of railway market, but they were not able to sell their produce, as previously, to incoming settlers. But I take it that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have other duties and other interests to look after than merely the interests of the original settlers in that country. The interests they had to serve were the interests of the whole Dominion. They had to build a railway from ocean to ocean as rapidly as it could be built; and in that rapid construction they have developed a country which otherwise would not have been developed as it has been. This is a very important consideration, looking

at the matter from a Dominion standpoint. Some hon. gentlemen have said that this has been a disadvantage. I agree that it has been a disadvantage to the original settlers, but not to the new settlers and not to the Dominion as a whole.

CORRECTING MR. WHITE.

The hon. member for Cardwell (Mr. White), made a statement which I am sorry he uttered, because the paper which he edits and controls has shown a fair amount of justice to the Northwest during the past years, so far as I have traced the course of that journal. The other night the hon. member made use of an expression which, as I have said, I was sorry to hear, for when the hon. member used it it was not spoken out of his inmost soul, but in doing so he was pandering to the prejudices of certain people in Eastern Canada. When he compared the people of the Northwest with the early settlers of Ontario, he forgot that they were placed in entirely different positions. We are now at the end of the nineteenth century. Who were the original settlers of Canada? People who had to leave England, Scotland and Ireland. The hon. gentleman said he had heard the tales of early settlers in Ontario. I have not only heard them, but I have seen the difficulties for myself, and I know what the early settlers had to put up with. The settlers who went from the north of Scotland had to make room for sheep farms, and on leaving they saw the smoking ruins of the cottages in which their forefathers were born. They crossed the ocean after a three months' voyage. When they reached this side, the bridge was broken and there was before them either destitution or success. These people settled up Ontario and made it what it is to-day. But at that time the United States had no field for immigrants better than Ontario. At that time their great West was a sealed book, and was unknown, but to-day, when inviting people to go to the Northwest, we have competitors in the great Western States, and in the Northwestern States, which have equal and similar advantages with our country, in some parts a milder climate, and more favourable conditions, but not so fertile a soil, and we must make ready use of our advantages. When the early settler came into Ontario, he carved out a home for himself, although many men were digging their grave by so doing. What

capital did they require? Their only capital was an axe, a harrow and a few other things of trifling cost, and even on these there was no tariff tax. They went to work, built a cabin, made fences and put in crop, and in the winter they were able to go and earn money in the shanties, and they did not require much. What does the settler in the Northwest require? He requires lumber at from \$25 to \$30 per M. for his house, wire for fences, posts and all sorts of agricultural implements; and these are difficulties with which the people in the Northwest have to contend, and which they never experienced in Ontario. I would ask the hon. member if he would be satisfied to go back to the old days and travel in a stage coach, because his father did? If the Grand Trunk had a strike on hand and an election were pending in Cardwell, and the electors were as anxious as the hon. gentleman for him to visit the constituency, would he be satisfied to take a stage coach, because his father in Ontario travelled that way? I think not. We must offer similar advantages in the Northwest to what the Americans offer, and that we are endeavouring to do, by opening up the country and making land laws and regulations to suit settlers.

PRESS MISREPRESENTATIONS.

A great deal has been said with respect to the misrepresentations of the press. As a reformer in the Northwest, I feel very strongly on this subject. I say that the reform press throughout Ontario has misrepresented the Northwest. I have pointed it out to leading members of the press that they are misrepresenting and doing a great injustice, not only to the country but to the farmer, and that if they adopted a different course, nine-tenths of the people in the Northwest would be in thorough accord with the reform party. But they have adopted an entirely different course. The *Globe*, the leading reform newspaper, was one of the very first to advocate the interests of the Northwest, and it pointed out that it had a great future before it. But a change came over that journal. After the Canadian Pacific Railway contract was passed, some of the papers—I will not say all—misrepresented that country. Last winter the *London Advertiser*, one of the most influential reform papers, started in circulation a report that a whole family in my constituency had been frozen to death. It went into the facts that a blizzard came on, that the family were frozen to death, not possessing

any firewood. It mentioned the man's name and where he came from—in Ontario. A long time elapsed before the truth was found out. The leading reform paper of Manitoba, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, set itself to work with vigour and energy to find out what amount of truth was in the statement. It found out that there was no such man in the part of the constituency to which reference was made. The man lived in Winnipeg; he and his family were comfortable; they had never seen a blizzard in their lives; they had never suffered from want of wood, and whenever they required it they went to the market and bought it. I found that this falsehood travelled not only through Ontario, but when I was in England last summer it was being circulated all over the United Kingdom, and was being copied by the press.

THE MANITOBA FROSTS.

The same paper last fall, when the report was in circulation that there was very serious damage done by frost in the Northwest, took credit to itself for being one of the first to let it be well known that serious damage was done in the Northwest. This report was first started for selfish purposes by the leading grain buyers to make a few hundred thousand dollars from buying grain in the Northwest. It is a falsehood, as far as the amount of damage really done by frost is concerned. The report was circulated at first by the largest grain buyer in the country. It was conceived in greed and brought forth in iniquity, fully clothed and developed and set forth in the world by a petty party press. It was first circulated here, and is now being circulated all over England and being republished through Europe. That journal said:—

“One of the reasons for a large wheat crop in the Northwest is the slowness with which it matures, but this is wholly due to the fact that the ground freezes to a great depth; that it takes the whole summer to thaw out. The temperature of the soil is therefore kept at a very low point throughout the season, and the risk from frost is proportionately greater. If your correspondent could prove that there are no greater risks there than here, he would at the same time prove that the productiveness of the country, as a wheat region, has been grossly exaggerated.”

I would simply state that the writer's reasoning is all false. To begin with he says that the frost goes down a great depth in the ground. But it is for that very reason we have an abundant harvest. The experience in Russia, which is the great wheat-growing country in Europe, is that when they have very little snow but heavy frost during winter, in the

following summer there is a heavy wheat crop. The same experience prevails in Minnesota. In the Northwest, the frost goes down deep, and when the hot season approaches the frost is coming out of the ground and stimulates the growth of the grain, and it is on this account that the growth in the Northwest is more rapid than in any part of Canada. — Sir, the whole argument is a fallacy. — He goes on to say in another part:—

“When our correspondent says that the wheat crop of Manitoba and the Northwest will average twenty bushels to the acre, we believe he is altogether mistaken. We are certain that the winter wheat crop of this western peninsula will not average anything like ten bushels to the acre, and our information convinces us that the estimate of our correspondent is altogether erroneous. One farmer from the vicinity of Turtle Mountain informs us that his average this year will be about twelve bushels, and the average beyond the boundaries of Manitoba in some places is reported as high as twenty, but in others much less. But whether believed to be more or less, is a matter of no consequence. It cannot change the result.”

What has the average crop of one single farm in Turtle Mountain, or the average wheat crop of the western peninsula to do with the average of the crop of the Province of Manitoba or the Northwest? I wish to speak about this damage by frost. The leader of the opposition made use of an expression which I wish to have explained. He said there was a liability to frost in a certain portion of that country. Now, I would like to ask him what portion of the country does he refer to, because our territory extends to the Arctic Ocean, and he may mean the Mackenzie River district. Or does he mean that what happens once may happen again? If that is what he means, I accept the statement, because that frost not only visited us, but extended far south, as far as Iowa and other states where frost had never been known before. If he means that, then the liability to frost extends not only to the Northwest, but over the whole of Canada, and a large portion of the United States, and we are not more liable to frost there than in any other part of Canada. I have seen nine harvests reaped in the Northwest and I have not seen the serious effects of frost before; I have seen delicate varieties of flowers growing in my own garden at the end of September, and even as late as the 5th of October. Last year, however, it was different, but as I have stated this was an exceptional year not merely in Manitoba, but for a long distance

south of it. I would also give the evidence of Senator Sutherland, who is a native of that country, who has lived in it a lifetime, and who informed me that he has not seen damage by frost for the last thirty years; and if that is the case, I think we can safely say that so far as any liability to frost is concerned, we share that liability with the rest of Canada and a large portion of the United States.

DEFENDING MANITOBA.

Now, Sir, there was a statement made in a letter to the *Globe* the other day to which I wish to refer. The writer said:—

"The people and Parliament of Canada would do well to consider the fact that the building of the Pacific Railway is a national speculation at best. The Northwest has certainly not yet been proved a country in which agriculture will flourish, or be more than a most precarious occupation. If 1882 and 1883 were years of normal climate in Manitoba, grain-growing there is a lottery with a very large proportion of blanks. Before pledging the credit of the country for \$35,000,000 more, it would surely be well to wait for evidence that the frosts of 1883 and the floods of 1882 did not make them abnormal years. Mr. Stephen says that his company can fulfil their engagements, but if not granted aid now must call a halt for five years. A halt is just the thing that will suit the general interest. It cannot harm any public interest or any interest that parliament can legitimately befriended, while it will give time to learn the truth as to the capabilities of the Northwest before making the expenditure of many millions that should not be expended, unless the Northwest will certainly return the money, principal and interest."

Now, Sir, that statement is most damaging, as he affirms that successful agricultural operation in the Northwest is still an unsolved problem, and that grain-growing is a lottery with a large proportion of blanks. This affirmation is not only untrue, but without the slightest foundation to support it. With regard to the floods in the Northwest, that is another matter which the newspapers have exaggerated to such an extent, that it is wonderful to find that their statements are believed by anybody. They had floods in Montreal the other day, and to talk about the injury by floods in the Northwest is about the same thing as to say that the floods in Montreal injured the whole of Canada, the whole of the Eastern States, and nearly all the Midland States, as far as the Mississippi, and should deter immigrants from settling in these states. The floods extended over a few thousand acres along the line of the Red River, and were very limited in extent. I was astonished at meeting some of my friends

from Ontario, who came up to that country who owned land 40 or 50 miles away from the Red River—I say I was astonished at their asking me the following summer how many feet of water was on their land during the Red River floods. Their idea seemed to be that the whole country was covered; and when you take into account the fact that the portion which was flooded at that time was but the merest fraction of the whole country, and that even at places a short distance away from Winnipeg, such as Portage la Prairie, Brandon, &c., the floods were unknown, you will have some idea of the effect of the floods, and the amount of damage that is likely to be done in the whole country by similar floods in future.

EXPOSING THE GLOBE.

The *Globe* says again in an editorial article:—

"What benefit has Ontario derived thus far from the opening up of the Northwest, or what benefit is it likely to receive that would justify the imposition of burdens so heavy upon our people? We have seen the very flower of the youth of this province allured to the West by what was said of the fertility of that region and of its vast resources, and we saw thousands of those young men, after much of their means had been wasted, forced to return, or driven wholly out of Canada, by the monstrous regulations framed in the interest of speculator and monopolist. We have seen the value of real estate in this province greatly reduced because of the outflow of the population."

Now, Sir, I maintain that a paper of the standing which the *Globe* has in Canada, advocating the rejection of these resolutions, and giving as a reason for so doing, that the young men of Ontario had gone to the Northwest, and that, therefore, this province should not be called upon to do any more for that company, is something like the position the New York *Herald* would occupy if it argued that Congress should not pass any bills in assistance of a line of railway passing through the country across the Rocky Mountains, simply because the young men of New York State, and other States, in the east, had gone to better their condition in Colorado and Wyoming, and that, therefore, it was a damage to the country. Another question has been referred to, and that is the colonization companies and the monopoly provisions, as they are called. Here is what the *Globe* of October 19th says:—

"A correspondent of the *Globe* is quoted to prove that larger quantities of free lands ready to be homesteaded have been discovered in Liegar, and that there has been a rush for them. That this discovery is made only now, shows how bad the management has been. That

there was such a rush for those lands only proves that settlement would have proceeded more rapidly had it not been obstructed by monopoly."

Now, Sir, with regard to these very lands, I have only to say that they have nothing whatever to do with the monopoly; that they are outside of the railway belt, and that they are not covered by the colonization companies' grants. I tried my best to settle those lands years ago, but could not. The people coming in then were determined to rush westward, and nothing could stop them; they were bound to get ahead of the construction party on the railway, and when they reached the Rocky Mountains, and then only, did they come to the conclusion that they had better get lands in the eastern part of the Northwest. Then it was that these settlers wisely decided to settle on these lands within forty to fifty miles from Winnipeg. With regard to what was said by the hon. member for Grey, the other evening, that some young men from his part of the country had gone there, and could not get land, I have only to tell him that to-day I can take his friends and place them on as fine land as the sun shines upon within fifty miles of Winnipeg, and that I can place settlers on these lands to the number of hundreds or thousands. The truth is, that I have seen people going up there like wandering Jews, going over as fine land as could be found anywhere, not once or twice, but five or six times, and they still remain unsatisfied, and would not be satisfied even if improved farms were given them. These are the kind of men who try to find an El Dorado, who try to get perfect farms. I saw a party of them in the neighbourhood of the Souris Settlement, in as fine a country as there is in the world, searching amongst thousands of acres of magnificent country, and still they could get nothing to suit them. These same gentlemen have come up there, and they have come back; and if they ever get to heaven they will not be satisfied to stay there because some of the choicest seats, in their opinion, are taken up.

OUR LIBERAL LAND LAWS.

Another question has arisen with regard to the Northwest. Various newspapers have published articles to show that our land laws are not as favourable to settlement as those of the United States. Although some mistakes have been made, I say that the land laws and regulations are more favourable

than those of the United States. The *Globe* of the 17th of October last says:—

"The right of pre-emption was one of the most effectual means of promoting settlement in the Western States. This was abolished by statute last year. The effect of such abolition must be to discourage settlement."

Now, Sir, I hold that pre-emption, as it is known in Canada, does not exist in the United States. What is called pre-emption there is an entirely different thing from that we have in Canada. I wish to settle this matter once for all, because a great deal of discussion has taken place upon it which need not have taken place. I will read the laws of the United States on this subject:—

"Heads of families, widows or single persons (male or female) over the age of twenty-one years, citizens of the United States, or who have declared their intention to become such under the naturalization laws, may enter upon any offered or unoffered lands, or any unreserved lands to which the Indian title has been extinguished, and purchase, not exceeding 160 acres, under pre-emption laws."

Now, Sir, there is no such thing as the privilege of getting a pre-emption alongside of a homestead. Any man who gets a pre-emption in the United States cannot get a homestead. The United States law further says:

"A pre-emptor may submit proofs of residence at any time after six months and obtain title to his land. At any time before expiration of time allowed for proof and payment, the settler may convert his pre-emption claim into a homestead. No person who abandons his residence upon lands of his own to reside upon public lands in the same state or territory, or who owns 320 acres of land in the same state or territory, is entitled to the benefits of the pre-emption laws. The latter provision does not apply to a house and lot in town."

Now, Sir, what is the meaning of this law? That if any man wishes to take up land in the United States he can do so, and he can get that land in one year as a pre-emption by paying for it; but he must not own 320 acres in his own right, and, moreover, he cannot leave his homestead and take up a pre-emption, for a homesteader must live on his homestead, and a pre-emptor must live on his pre-emption. Therefore no man can have a homestead and a pre-emption in the United States. That is the pre-emption law of that country. Another advantage we possess over the United States is that we have second homestead entry, while they have not. We provided for this last session, so that any man can now take up a second homestead in the Northwest after he has got his patent for his first one; and after three years of con-

tinuous residence the patent issues, while in the United States the patent does not issue until after five years continuous residence. Therefore, I claim that our land laws are, on the whole, much more liberal than those of the United States.

BAD EFFECTS OF THE OPPOSITION.

Now, Sir, the course taken by certain portions of the press and by those who are opposed to the Canadian Pacific Railway has been identical. Both are opposed to the Northwest, and the effects of their opposition have been most disastrous in England, not only to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company but to the Northwest, for the interests of both are the same. I believe a great deal of the abuse which has been published against the Northwest, with regard to frosts, etc., has been published in order to injure the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. The effect is 'to injure both, to impair the value of the Canadian Pacific Railway stock in the English money markets, to check immigration and the investment of capital in the Northwest, and to cause general stagnation of business over the whole of that country. There have been other causes for that stagnation, but these things have helped to increase it. Is there any foundation for these attacks which have been made on the Canadian Pacific Railway? Is there anything in the nature of the Northwest to show that it would not support a railway? I hold that in Manitoba alone there is going to be business enough to support the Canadian Pacific Railway.

WHEAT YIELD OF MANITOBA.

Take the statistics of last year, which have been collected by the deputy minister of agriculture for the province, who has been very active and painstaking in collecting them. They show that last year there were 457,216 acres under cultivation, of which 208,674 were under wheat, yielding an average of 23.69 bushels to the acre, making a total yield of 4,799,571 bushels. It was thought at the time these reports appeared that the average yield claimed was too great—that the result would not bear it out. The deputy minister, with his accustomed energy, went to work and got returns from the threshers in the different parts of the province, and they bore out his report within a fraction; our exports this year was about 2,500,000 bushels. Now, Sir, we have an estimate that next year

there will be 377,624 acres in wheat which, at twenty bushels to the acre, will give a total product of 7,553,480 bushels. In addition to these, I have got statistics from the assistant land commissioner of the Canadian Pacific Railway, showing the amount of breaking and back-setting in the Northwest Territories. The statement he furnishes shows that 87,000 acres of the Canadian Pacific Railway lands alone are broken and back-set, ready for seeding next spring. If they yielded twenty bushels to the acre, that would add 1,740,000 bushels. I have not been able to learn the exact number of sections of government land which have been settled in the Northwest, outside of Manitoba, but a large addition can be made on that account. These figures show that the total yield of wheat in the province and the territories next year, under ordinary circumstances, will be 9,293,480 bushels, so that we shall have at least 6,000,000 for export. That may not seem a very large amount; but when we consider that during the past year the total exportation on the St. Paul & Manitoba road, which has the largest percentage of the wheat-carrying trade of all the railways in America, amounted to 13,000,000 bushels, and that that road will carry this year no more than 16,000,000 bushels, we may conclude that the Northwest will do pretty well if, in the second year of its exportation, it will have a surplus of 6,000,000 bushels. In the following years the product will increase much more largely. At this rate of progress, I estimate that the wheat yield in five years from to-day will be over 20,000,000 bushels in the Province of Manitoba, of which we will have at least 16,000,000 for exportation, or as much as the St. Paul & Manitoba road have carried over their line this year. This is more than the Canadian Pacific Railway could really carry out of the country. Taking the 30,000 farmers now in Manitoba, and supposing that each cultivated only thirty-five acres of wheat, and that each acre gave twenty bushels, we will in five years have a yield of 21,000,000 bushels, that is, if immigration should entirely cease, and these farmers should only cultivate thirty-five acres each; but with the large number of immigrants coming in every year it is impossible to give an approximate amount of the production in the time. Yet we are told that there will not be sufficient traffic to make the Canadian Pacific Railway pay expenses.

FUTURE AGRICULTURAL GREATNESS.

I hold, on the contrary, that the traffic on that road is going to be so great that the Canadian Pacific Railway will not be able to carry it all. The hon. minister of railways, I think, went over the mark when he said that 320 acres would be cultivated by a single man; but supposing in seven years from to-day there would be 100,000 farmers in the Northwest—and this would only give us 50,000 a year of increased population—and supposing that each one cultivated 80 acres, yielding twenty bushels an acre, that would give 160,000,000 bushels. If we cannot do this in seven years we can do it in twelve, for there is certain to be more than 100,000 there then. Take the wheat grown in India. It is not ten years ago since wheat was begun to be exported from that country. In 1875, 1,500,000 bushels were exported from India to England; last year 35,000,000 bushels were exported. From the American continent the exportation last year was about 75,000,000, making a total of 110,000,000 from India and the whole American continent. I am satisfied that under favourable circumstances and with the progress our Northwest is making, we will be able in twenty years at furthest to send as much wheat to Europe as was sent from the whole American continent and India in the past season. This means that the Canadian Pacific Railway will not be able to do the work in a few years, and before long they will be building a double track from Winnipeg to Port Arthur; in five years they will have more trade than they can carry, and it is important that other outlets for the carrying trade should be provided, for the growing trade of the Northwest is not confined to wheat alone.

OTHER RESOURCES.

We have a large cattle trade in the ranches of the west to develop, and a lumber trade, and the minerals and mines to be developed, which will furnish a large amount of traffic. Next season, I am satisfied we shall have 10,000 men prospecting in the Rocky Mountains and opening up new avenues of trade. Look also at our large coal fields. In one section of land alone there are 11,000,000 tons. And when I say that we have thousands of those sections, you will be able to form some idea of the vast amount of coal in that region. The lumber and coal trade will

furnish a large traffic for the railway, and these products will be all sent to the eastern and middle parts of the territory, while the cattle will be sent to Eastern Canada.

OTHER OUTLETS.

In view of the rapid development that is going to take place in the Northwest, it is more necessary to the people of Eastern Canada that the road should run to the north of Lake Superior than it is to the people of the Northwest, who, to-day, have their outlet by Port Arthur, which gives them all the outlet they require in summer, and a winter outlet by St. Paul. But if the people of Eastern Canada want to control the trade of the Northwest, it is absolutely necessary the line should be built north of Lake Superior. How is the general trade and merchandise of the country to be carried if not carried over that road, otherwise a large portion of it will go to St. Paul and Chicago. It is said that the construction of the Hudson's Bay road would be disastrous to the Canadian Pacific Railway. I hold the contrary opinion. I believe that if the construction of that road were started to-morrow it would give such an impetus to enterprise, it would so develop the energy of the people, and trade would so rapidly increase that the Canadian Pacific Railway would, in the meantime, receive great benefit; and if the road were built to Hudson Bay the traffic would be so great that both roads would have all that they could carry. It would be very important to the Canadian Pacific Railway, to the Government, and to the whole country that the Hudson Bay Road should be started as speedily as possible, and the more we consider the Northwest the stronger must be our conviction that not only two, but a dozen lines of railway will be necessary there in the near future.

QUALITY OF LANDS IN THE NORTHWEST.

A great deal has been said about the land along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway west of Moose Jaw, and I was prejudiced myself against the land owing to the reports I heard of it. But I have since travelled over it, and I have travelled over the land along the lines of the Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific and the Northern Pacific, and I can state from my experience, and from the knowledge I have of the soil, that the land along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway is much better than that along the lines of the three American roads. There is no line of railway in America of the

same length as this 300 miles, from Winnipeg west, which passes through such uniform good land as that through which this line passes. For any 300 miles west of Moose Jaw, there is better soil to be found than along any 300 miles over any line of railway in Canada. The soil, Sir, is excellent. But here comes the question about the dryness of the climate. I have my own opinion about that. I saw farms cultivated on the Union Pacific and on the Northern Pacific with dryer climates, producing good and fair crops, and if they can produce fair crops in that climate, I do not see why we cannot produce as good and much better crops in the Northwest, where the climate is not so dry, where there is more moisture, and where the soil is infinitely better. I examined the grass in the Northwest country, and I came to the conclusion that, where such grass as that can be grown, though it does not compare with the grass in the east part of that vast plain, there is moisture enough in the soil to produce any quantities of crops we wish. The great thing for the settlers in the Northwest, in that part of the country considered barren, is to sow their grain either late in the fall or in the early spring, or on the snow, and I am satisfied that, with the moisture of the snow and with the early rains, the crops will be prepared to stand any drought in the summer. People in travelling across that country came to the conclusion that, because the grass is short the country must be poor. If you took a gentleman from Kansas, who never saw a wooded country in his life, and brought him through Canada and showed him a hemlock forest, and the magnificent trees in it, and then showed him a forest of beech and elm, he might, in the same way, come to the conclusion that, in the hemlock forest, where the trees were so large, the soil is very fine, and that in the smaller forest the soil is inferior. It does not follow. The grass which grows in the Northwest plains is peculiar to that country itself, and it does not follow that, because the grass is short and apparently withered, the soil is poor. That grass is peculiar grass, and when people travelling over that country in August or September, or even in July, see the grass brown and coloured, they come to the conclusion that the country is withered up and good for nothing, whereas the grass is hay with its roots attached to the soil, undergoing a curing process. That is why it is fit for ranche

purposes. If it did not undergo that curing process in the summer months, it would rot and be fit for nothing in the winter; and that is not confined to the Northwest, but is the case throughout the plain on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and extends down to Texas, and the people at first sight do not understand the nature of the soil in that country. I hold, further, that in no part of the American continent—and I think I have taken most of the lines through the best parts of the United States—do you find so much good land in one solid bulk as in the Northwest, and this is the country that is to support the Canadian Pacific Railway.

PICTURE GREATNESS.

Why, Mr. Speaker, in that vast country we have a heritage that the people of the Northwest themselves have not commenced to realize, and the people in eastern Canada have not commenced to dream about. The people in Eastern Canada seem to think they know all about the Northwest because they have read about it. They know no more about it, they have no more clear and defined idea about it, than they have of heaven from reading about it. They have a vague and indefinite idea, but they must go there and see for themselves before they can realize what it is. The extent of that country is so vast, its resources are so varied, that we who have been there for years have not yet commenced to take in the situation and realize the future which is in store for us. In that country there is an infant, in swaddling clothes, if you will, spoon-fed, perhaps, but he feels within him the power of a mighty giant, which, in the future, will be felt throughout the world and Eastern Canada as well; and we hope that when that day arrives, when that power is felt by Eastern Canada and the rest of the world, Eastern Canada will take pride in it and recognize the fact that it is part of one common heritage. We are only now beginning to feel the dawn of inspiration of our future greatness coming over us, and before it rises into meridian splendour, we hope the people of Eastern Canada will begin to see some faint streaks of that splendour. I hope and trust they will.

COST OF TRANSPORTATION.

One question that comes home to us is, what is going to be the cost of transportation of grain in that country? Is it to be so cheap that the farmers in the Northwest can make a living?

If not, then the country is a failure, and the Canadian Pacific Railway is a failure also. I find that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company will be able to take grain from Winnipeg to Montreal, via Port Arthur, for 25 cents a bushel at most. Take grain in Chicago. It takes about 9 cents—8c to 9c—a bushel, take it year after year, to bring grain from Chicago to Montreal. Now, the grain in the Northwest, our hard wheat in the Northwest, is worth about 10 cents a bushel more than the grain in Chicago, showing that they have only a few cents the advantage over us in the wheat-growing trade of our country in the future. Take the prices to-day in the Winnipeg market. First-class grain that has not suffered from frost is only 13 cents a bushel less than wheat sold in Chicago. If that is the price to-day, if the Canadian Pacific Railway sees fit in their wisdom—and I believe they will—to build large elevators for the storage of grain at Port Arthur, elevators which will store millions and millions of bushels, to bring it down in the winter time and store it and send it on by lake boats in the summer, I feel satisfied that grain can be taken in that way from Winnipeg to Montreal nearly as cheaply as it can be taken from Chicago to the same port, taking into account the superior quality of our grain. Thus, I believe, that the farmers in the Northwest, if they get over their present troubles, if they get upon their feet again, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company acts with wisdom in regard to that country and in preparing proper elevators for the storage of grain, have a bright future in store for them, even if no other railways were built in the near future.

IMPORTANCE OF C. P. R. TO DOMINION.

The opening of the line north of Lake Superior is very important to the people of Ontario. By that line grain urgently required by eastern millers will be conveyed, and a large share of the implements required by Northwest farmers purchased in Eastern Canada will go over this line before the opening of navigation, and the amount of passenger traffic will be very large. A great many people have said we are building this road for the Northwest. We are doing nothing of the kind. The people in Winnipeg are satisfied even if the money is not to be spent there. Not one dollar of that money is to be spent there, but most of it on the line east of Port Arthur, in the Province of Ontario and the Province of

Quebec, or at least, it will filter through those channels. We may get some of the money spent in the Rocky Mountains. Judging from the past, it will be only a small portion of the money spent on construction, that will be spent in Winnipeg. But it is not for the people of Winnipeg, but for the people of Canada that that road is to be built. In the Province of Ontario, the railway is opening up and developing 8,000,000 of acres of arable land along the line. We in Winnipeg do not grumble at that. We only hope it will open up 80,000,000 of acres of arable land, and so make it more successful than it otherwise would be.

THE N. P. AND DISALLOWANCE.

We have been bearing our fair share of the burdens of the country. We went into confederation knowing we should have to bear our full share of those burdens. We are prepared to do so. We have paid more *per capita* than the rest of the people of Canada. We have put up with the national policy, and this is the first year we have ever grumbled, because the people of the Northwest believed that, in the interests of Canada, the national policy was necessary, in view of the vast expenditure of money which was going on, and they were getting their fair share of it. As all the rest of Canada believed, in its wisdom, that the national policy should be passed, we did not complain, though we were the principal sufferers. The farmers of the Northwest were buying their implements, but they did not complain. The increase in duty was made last year, and the result was that the farmers, who were suffering from other causes, who were suffering as well from severe frosts, found the duty a grievous burden, in their opinion, and it is only now they are beginning to complain, and wish the duty thrown off. We are prepared to take our fair share of responsibility in connection with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and we are not so interested as some people in Eastern Canada imagine. A great deal has been said about the monopoly clause in the charter. That is not so important to the people of the Northwest as some think. The monopoly clause does not affect the old Province of Manitoba, which was exempted from the operation of that clause. This is held by the company, by the Government, and we hold it in the Local Legislature. But the Government considered it for the best interests of the country, and saw fit in their

wisdom to cancel some of these charters. But if you struck out the monopoly clause it would not make the position for Manitoba any better, because the Government could still exercise the power they have under the British North America Act, to cancel any charters connecting our country with the other Provinces, or with the United States. To do away with the monopoly clause would be of no benefit whatever, unless we had an assurance from the Government that they would never exercise that right again. But there is only one line of railway outside of the proposed Hudson Bay Railway that can at all begin to compete with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that is a railway that would come down to Duluth and reach the nearest port, where vessels can be loaded with grain. Therefore, I do not think the interests of Manitoba are so much affected that the monopoly clause should be struck out, because the Government can still exercise the power under the British North America Act.

NECESSITY OF AIDING C. P. R.

Now, what would be the consequences of rejecting these Resolutions? The consequence would be a general paralysis and stagnation of business all through the Northwest. To-day there are millions of money in England ready for investment, in Canada, but capitalists there are waiting to see what we are going to do with these Resolutions and watching the coming season in the Northwest. In the past, English capitalists have invested in Canadian securities only to a small extent—except Government securities. They have invested in Grand Trunk securities, and we all know the result. They were dissatisfied; it is not a paying security; and the consequence is that English capitalists have been disinclined to invest in Canadian securities. They prefer to send their money to India, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. If you go to London you will find a great many business houses exclusively engaged in financial operations in these countries I have mentioned, but very few engaged in similar operations with Canada. But to-day English capitalists stand waiting to invest millions in our Northwest in case the Canadian Pacific Railway Company succeeds in opening up that country. In the City of Denver, even, you will find many buildings erected by British capitalists, and that State and others have been developed almost entirely, or very largely, by English and Scotch

capital. It is well known to-day that, if this railway goes on and develops that country as we expect it will, millions of money of foreign capital will flow into it. In that country, Sir, the people of Canada have a heritage so great that they scarcely deserve it, because they do not appreciate it. It is in that country that a true Canadian sentiment, a true sentiment of

CANADIAN NATIONALITY,

is to arise. It is there that the sons of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario are to be found labouring side by side, working out their own destinies, and at the same time working out the destiny of their country. And, Sir, if there is to be a Canadian national sentiment, a national sentiment, such as is possessed by the people of the United States, you will find it growing up and taking root in the great Northwest. To-day we are but a bundle of twines and not a strong rope. I say that the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway will contribute to the rapid development of that country, and to the growth of a national sentiment. I hold that it is one of the most important needs of this country to have one common feeling of sympathy and pride uniting the people of the several provinces. We want a country that we, as Canadians, can be proud of, and I think the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, giving us a line of railway from ocean to ocean, the largest line of railway in the world, with a country unsurpassed for fertility, and a climate almost perfect, I say, I think when we have a country thus opened up and developed, we shall be proud of it, and the national sentiment will become strong. Sir, there is no more intelligent and progressive people in this country than are to be found in Manitoba and the Northwest. There are no more enterprising people anywhere than are to be found there; and none, Sir, so intelligent ever settled any Province or any State in the Union. I think, Sir, that if ever a Canadian sentiment is to arise at all, it will arise in the Northwest. If there is ever to be a question on which we can all unite as one man, that question will be the development of the Northwest, along with our national highway, and if we cannot agree on that, then, I say, confederation is a failure. If the Northwest is a failure, then Canada is a failure, and the sooner we realize that fact the better. Sir, the destiny of Canada, for the next five years, is involved in these Resolutions, it is involved in the question

now before the house, and hangs upon the vote to be given here to-night. If that question should be decided in a certain way, disaster and ruin would overtake, not only the Northwest country by keeping back immigration and retarding its prosperity for many years, but disaster and ruin would overtake the whole of Canada. I say it would be very difficult indeed, for many years to come, to give such an impetus to the development of that country, as the construction of this railway has been giving it for the last few years. It would shake the confidence of men who have invested there or intend to invest there, and would seriously check im-

migration, and send a chill through the whole of the business circles of Canada. And, Sir, it is of the utmost importance, that just at this moment, when capitalists are thinking of aiding in developing our common country, we should not only throw no obstacles in the way and shake their confidence, but show that we have faith in the future ourselves. Mr. Speaker, I shall have much pleasure in supporting these Resolutions, not only, as I said, from a Northwest standpoint, but from a Dominion standpoint, because I believe that if they fail, the result would be disastrous to both the Northwest and the whole Dominion.